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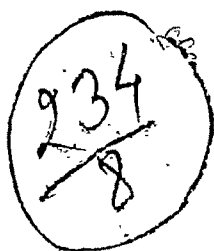
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(Wilson Philological Lectures on the Latin Language  
By Prof. Sukumar Sen.  
Delivered at Bombay University  
in Jan. 1961

Editor—Professor Sukumar Sen

Philological Society of Calcutta  
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## Abbreviations

- E = Etruscan.
- G = Gothic.
- IE = Indo European.
- Gk = Greek.
- L = Latin.
- M = Messopic.
- O = Oscan.
- S = Sicel.
- U = Umbrian.
- V = Venetic

## FOUR

# HISTORY OF LATIN : PHONOLOGY

The IE. speakers of Proto-Latin probably came over to Italy from Central Europe and settled in Latium in scattered communities sometime about the tenth century B.C. There were several dialects or *patois* of which one belonged to Rome. Rome attained political supremacy from the middle of the fourth century B.C. and thereafter the other Latin dialects and *patois* began to be absorbed and replaced by the Roman dialect or Latin language. This language was cultivated by a people that had come under the tutorship of Etruria during the formative period and of Greece throughout, even from before the formative period.

There are three stages in the history of the development of the Latin language : Old Latin, Classical Latin, and Vulgar Latin.

Old Latin is known from a few inscriptions down from the sixth century B.C., and they are written in various dialects and idioms including that of Rome. The non-Roman dialects, such as Faliscan and Praenestine, were rustic languages, compared to Roman. The difference between the Roman and the non-Roman in early Latin are mainly as follows.

1. Diphthongs continue in Roman-Latin but are generally monophthongized in non-Roman. Thus : F. *pretod* : L. *praetor* ; F *loferta* : L. *liberta* (<*leiber*) ; P. *Fortuna* : L. *Fortunae* ; P. *Esculapio* : L. *Aesculapius* ; etc.

2. Final *-s* is retained in Roman-Latin but is dropped in Faliscan and Praenestine. Thus : F *cra* : L. *cras* 'tomorrow' ; P *nationu* : L. *nationis*.

3. The gen. sg. ending in non-Roman is regular *-us* (< *-os*) and nom. pl. (second decl.) in *-es* ; e.g. *nationu* (gen. sg.), *magistere* (nom. pl.)

4. The reduplicated perfect does not appear in Roman Latin but occurs in non-Roman (as also in Oscan) ; e.g. *faʃaced*=L. *facit*.

## 5. There is considerable lexical difference.

The oldest documents of non-Roman Latin are a few short inscriptions the oldest of which occurs in a fibula from Praeneste, dating in the sixth century B.C. It runs as follows :

Manios : med : fhe : fhaked : numasio.

=L. <i>Manius</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>fecit</i>	<i>Numerio.</i>
(Manios	me	made	for Numesos).

Another short inscription found in Falerii shows marked affinity with Oscan and Umbrian in respect of some phonological changes.

foied	vino	pipafo	cra	carefo.
=L. <i>hodie</i>	<i>vinum</i>	<i>bibam</i>	<i>cras</i>	<i>carebo.</i>

(Today wine I shall drink tomorrow I shall miss).

One of the oldest specimens of Roman-Latin is to be found in an inscription on a tombstone (believed to be that of Romulus) in the Forum Romanum. The date is *circa* 500 B.C. It is written vertically boustrophedon, and scholars are doubtful about the interpretation of most of the words. But some words are clear : e.g. *quoi* (= *quī*), *sacros* (= *sacer*), *recel* (= *rēgī*), *ioxmenta* (= *iūmenta*), *iouestod* (= *iusto*).

Even older is the inscription on a bowl with three compartments found on the Quirinal. It runs as follows.

iouesat deiuos qoi med mitat, nei ted endo cosmis	uirco sied/
asted noisi ope toitesici pacari uois/	
duenos med feced en manom einom dze noine med	maao statod./

The sense of this inscription also is not clear although some individual words are fairly so; e.g. *deiuos* (IE. *\*deiwos*), *qoi* (*\*qwoi*), *med*, *mitat* (cf. *mitesco* 'to become mild'), *cosmis*, *uirco*, *siet*, *duenos* (= L. *bonus*), *faced* (= L. *facit*).

Some passages from Old Latin are quoted by a few writers of Classical Latin. This also furnishes some material. But all these materials are not sufficient for the study of Old

Latin. There is a gap between Old Latin and Classical Latin which cannot be completely bridged over owing to the lack of adequate material. In Old Latin the IE. phonological structure does not seem to be much affected. The interior diphthongs are contracted nor are the quality and quantity of vowels modified, as in Cl. Latin. Final *-d* was not dropped.

Classical Latin is a literary language like Sanskrit. The spoken Latin which was not entirely discarded by early writers like Plautus and Terence, gradually ran away from the literary Latin and developed into Vulgar Latin, the third stage in the development of Latin.

A historical analysis of classical Latin may now be made:

### I Phonology

- (i) IE. speech sounds were inherited by Proto-Italic, with the following modifications.

(a) IE. \* $\partial$  > *a* : \**p $\partial$ ter* > *pater* ; \**d $\partial$ tos* > \**datos*.

(b) IE. \* $\partial_2$  > *a* (generally) : \**bhl $\partial_2$ g* > \**flag-mā* (cf. Gk. *phlegō*) > L. *famma* ; \**bh $\partial_2$ wd-* (<full grade *bheuā*) > L. *fu-i* (cf. GK *phu-nai*).

- (c) Long diphthongs generally lost the second element. (This might have happened towards the end of the IE. period but independently in the different branches.) Thus :

\**dhei* - > \**dhē* (L. *fē-mina* ; cf. Gk. *thē'-sato*) ;  
 \**poi-* > \**pō-* (L. *pōtus*) ; \**rēi-m* > \**rēm* (L. *rēm* ;  
 cf. Skt. *rām*) ; \**d(i)yeum* > \**dižm* (L. *diēm* ;  
 cf. Hom. *zēn*, Skt. *dyām*) ; \**gwōum* > \**gwōm*  
 (U. *bum* ; cf. Doric *bōn*, Skt. *gām*).

- (d) IE. \**eu* (\**ew*) > \**ou* (\**ow*) : \**deuko* > \**doukō*  
 (L. *dūco*), cf. Goth. *tiuha* ; \**eusō* > \**ousō*  
 (L. *ūrō*), cf. Gk. *eūrō* ; \**newm* > \**nowm*  
 (L. *novem*), cf. Gk. \**nēos* ; \**dyewi* > \**dyowi*  
 (L. *Jove* abl. ; O. Diùvel dat.) ; \**genewes* >  
 \**genowes* > \**geneuei* > L. *genuī*.



- (e) IE *\*r, \*l* > *-or, -ol*; *\*krd-* > *\*kōrd-* (L. *cord-*); *\*grp-* > *\*korp-* (L. *corpus*); *\*yeqr̥t* > *jeqort-* (L. *iecur*); *\*m̥k-*, *\*m̥g-* > *\*molk-*, *\*molg-* (L. *multa* < *\*molkta*); *\*q̥ltós* > *\*koltos* (L. *occultus*); *\*w̥ltu-* > *\*woltu-* (L. *voltus, vultus*), cf. Goth. *wulthus* 'heroism'.
- (f) IE. *\*n, \*m* > *\*en, \*em*: *\*septm̥*, *\*dek̥m* > L. *septem, decem*; *\*pedm̥* > L. *pedem* (cf. Gk. *póda*); *\*m̥bh̥ris* > *\*embris* (L. root *imber*; O. Anafriiss, dat. pl.), cf. Gk. *aphōrs*, Skt. *abhrás*; *\*new̥n* > *\*noven* (L. *novem*).
- (g) IE. *\*r, \*l* (sonant. long) > *rā, lā*: *\*gr̥nō-* > *\*grāno-* (L. *grānum*), cf. Skt. *jīrnā-*, Goth. *kaurn*, Old Bul(garian) *.zr̥nō*; *\*gw̥rtō-* > *\*grāto-* (L. *grātus*, O. *brateis* gen. sg. cf. Skt. *gūrta* 'welcome'); *\*st̥rtos* > L. *strātus*, cf. Skt. *stīrnā-* (< *\*st̥rnō-*); *\*w̥lnā* > *\*wlānā* (L. *lana*), cf. Skt. *ūrñā*; *\*t̥ltós* > *\*tlātos* (L. *lātus* 'carried, borne'), cf. Gk. *tlātos* (basic root *\*telā-*); *\*st̥ltos* > *\*stlātos* (L. *lātus* 'broad'), cf. O Bul. *steljo*.
- (h) Intervocalic *-y-* was lost; *\*treyes* > *\*trees* (L. *trēs*).
- (i) Voiced aspirates became unvoiced spirants:  
*\*ambho* > *\*amfo*; *\*dhē-* > *\*θē* (in *thēkād*);  
*\*medhyos* > *\*methyos*; *\*dhi̯ng̥ho-* > *\*θi̯n̥xo*.  
Initially, before a vowel *\*x* > *h*: *\*ghumo-* (Gk. *khamei*, Lith. *ẓeme*) > *\*humo-* > *\*humo*. (L. *humus*; cf. U. *hondra*. O. *huntrus*); *\*ghous-* (O. Bul. *gost̥*) > *\*xost-* (L. *hostis*); *\*wegh-* > L. *vehō*.
- (j) Intervocalic *-s-* was voiced.
- (k) IE. *\*-t-t* became *-ss-*; *-t-tr-* because *-str-*:  
*\*sed-tos* > *\*set-tos* > *\*setstos* > *\*sessos* (L. *sessus*);  
*\*ped-tum* > *\*pettum* (Skt. *pattum*) > *\*pessum* (L. *pessum*); *\*w̥rtos* (Skt. *vrttas*) > *\*wortto* (L. *vossus*); *\*rod-trom* > L. *rostrum*.
- (l) IE. *\*-ts-* > *-ss-*: *\*metso-* > *\*messo-* (L. *messui* 'gather harvest'). This sandhi phenomenon

occurs later also ; e.g. IE. *\*potl esmi* > Pre-Latin *\*pōt-som* > L. *possum*.

(m) IE. *\*p—qw* > *\*qw-qw* : *\*penqwe* > *\*qwenqwe* L. *quinque* ; cf. O. *pumperlas*, U. *pumperias*.

(n) Final *\*-t* became *-d* : *\*dedet* > *\*deded* ; *\*siet* > *\*sied*.

Coming to Latin we find that the inherited vowels have sometimes undergone change due to the influence of the accent. In Indo-European the accent was tonic and free (i.e. it could lie on any syllable, initial, medial or final). In classical Latin also the accent is predominantly tonic but its position is fixed.\* In classical Latin the accent falls on the penultimate vowel if the vowel is long and, on the antipenultimate vowel if the penultimate vowel is short ; e.g. *ducā'mus* : *dūcimus*.

In Old Latin the initial vowels were accented and therefore they remain generally unaffected.

(i) Vowels in the initial syllable.

*\*a* : L. *ager*. U. *ager* ; cf. Gk. *agrōs* (<IE. *\*áger-*).  
L. *alius*, O. *allo* ; cf. Gk. *állos* (<IE. *\*ályos*).

*\*e* : L. *est*, O. *est* ; cf. Gk. *estí* (<IE. *\*ésti*).  
L. *-que* ; cf. Gk. *te*, Skt. *ca* (<IE. *\*qwe*).  
L. *lupe* ; cf. Gk. *lúke* (IE. *\*wlqwe* voc.sg.)

Under certain conditions IE. *\*e* has become *i* in Latin.

(i) Before guttural nasal ; *\*penqwe* > L. *quinque* ; Proto-Latin *\*decnos* > *\*dencnos* > L. *dignus* ; IE. *\*egnīs* > Proto-L. *\*engnis* > L. *ignis*.

(ii) Sometimes before the labial nasal : IE. *\*mbhris* > *\*embris* > L. *imber* 'shower of rain'. This was a dialectal change.

IE. *\*e* was changed to *o* in Latin when preceded or followed by *u(w)*. IE. *\*newos* > L. *novos* ; IE. *\*swesor* > L. *soror* ; IE. *\*swekuros* > L. *socer* ; IE. *\*suepnos* > L. *somnus* ; OL. *duenos* > L. *bonus*.

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\*The tonic accent seems to have persisted in Latin down to the fourth century A.D.

\**o* (also in ablaut with *e*). L. *domus* : Gk. *dēmos* ; L. *ob* : Gk. *epi* ; OL *equos, equom* ; cf. Gk. *hīppos, hīppon* ; L. *octō* (<IE. \**oktō*) ; L. *ovis* <IE. \**owis*.

Before the velar and the labial nasal *o* becomes *u* in cl. Latin. IE \**onqos* (Gk. *onkos*) > L. *uncus* 'a hook' ; OL *honc* (>\**hom-ce*) > L. *huna* ; etc. But *longus, tongere*.

Before the velar *l* followed by a consonant *o* became *u* in cl. Latin. L. *sulcus* : Gk. *holkos* ; L. *culpa* < OL. *colpa* ; L. *fulgur* 'tightening, thunderbolt', cf. Skt. *bhṛgu-*

Such change appears also before *r* plus consonant. L. *ursus* : Skt. *ṛkṣaḥ*.

In a pretonic syllable *ou* appears as *av*. L. *cavē're* 'beware, avoid' : Gk. *koéro* ; L. *lavāre* 'to wash' bathe' : Gk. *lóō*.

Initial *vo* becomes *ve* before *r, s* and *t*. <sup>1</sup>\**vorsus* > *versus* ; *vortex* > *vertex* ; *voster* > *vester* ; *voto* > *veto* ; etc.

IE \**d* : L. *māter, frāter, svāvis* (Gk. Doric *hādus*).

IE \**ē* : L. *sēmi* (Gk. *hemi-*, Skt. *sāmi*) ; L. *rēgem* (Skt. *sam- rājam*) ; L. *fēcit* (Gk. *ēthēke*).

IE \**ō* : L. *dōnum*, O. *dūnūm* (Skt. *dānam* ; cf. Gk. *dōron*) ; L. *ōcior* (cf. Gk. *ōkūs*, Skt. *āśuḥ*) ; L. *gnōtus* (Skt. *jñātās*).

IE \**ǵ* : L. *pater, status, datus*.

IE \**i* : L. *quis* (O., U. *pis*, Gk. *tis*) ; L. *gigno* (Gk. *gígnomai*).

IE. \**-is-* > \**-iz-* > \**-ez-* > \**-er-* : L. *sero* 'to sow' ; \**sīsō* (reduplicated present) ; L. *cineris* 'ashes' < \**kenis-es*.

IE \**u*. L. *iugum* (Gk. *zugón*, Skt. *yugám*, Goth. *juk*) ; L. *invenis* (Skt. *yuván-*) ; L. *ruber* (U. *rufru*, : Gk. *eruthrós*) ; L. *fuga* : (G *phugē*).

Intervocalic \**-us-* sometimes became \**-or-* (through \**-uz-* > \**-ur-* ; see \**-es-* above) : L. *forem* < \**fu-s-em*. O. *fusid* < \**fu-s-ed* < IE. \**bhu-s-*.

IE. \**i*. *vīs* (Gk. *īs*) ; L. *vīvus*, (O. *bivus*, Skt. *jīvas*, Lith. *gyvas*) ; L. *reg-i-na* (fem. affix).

<sup>1</sup> This change took place towards the middle of the second century B.C.

IE. \**ū* : L. *mūs* (Gk. *mūs*, Skt. *mūs*, OHG *mūs*) ; L. *iūs* : (Skt. *yūṣ-*), L. *fūmus* (Gk. *thūmao*, Skt. *dhūmas*).

(ii) Diphthongs (in initial syllables) :

IE. \**ai* > OL. *ai* > OL. *ae* (from the second century B.C.). L. *prae*. (O. *prai*, U. *pre* : Gk. *parai*) ; L. *aedes* (Gk. *aĩtho*) ; L. *caecus* 'blind' (Goth. *haihs*) ; L. *haedus* 'a young goat' (Goth. *gaits*).

IE. \**ei* > OL. *ei* > *ē* > *ī* (from the middle of the second century B.C.). OL. *ceivis* > CL. *cīvis* 'a citizen' (Skt. *śvās*, Goth. *heiwa-frauja* 'house māster'). O. *deivaf*, OL. *deivae* > CL. *dīvos*, *dīvae* ; OL. *deicerent*. O. *deikum* > *dīcere* (Gk. *deĩknumĩ*) ; L. *it* (Skt. *eti*, Lith. *eĩthĩ*).

IE. \**oi* : OL. *oi* (> *oe*) > *ū* (by the time of Plautus) : OL. *oiŋo-* (Gk. *oiŋe*) ; CL. *ūnum*.

OL. *moineipieis*, *co(m) moine(m)* > CL. *municipum*, *communus* 'common' (cf. O. *mūĩnĩkad* 'communion' (Goth. *gamains*)).

After initial *v-* there is dissimilation (*oi* > *ei*). L. *vīcus* : Gk. *oikos* ; L. *vīdĩ* : Gk. *oĩde* ; L. *vīnum* : Gk. *oĩnos*.

IE. \**au* > *au*. L. *augeo* : Gk. *auksaĩno*, Goth. *-aukan* ; L. *auris* : Lith. *ausis*, Goth. *auso*.

IE. \**eu* > OL. *ou* > CL. *ū* (from the third century B.C.). L. *dūco* 'to draw, to drag' : Goth. *tiuha* (> \**deuko*) ; L. *ūro* 'to burn' : Gk. *euo* (< \**euso*) : OL. *Polouces* > CL. *Pollux* : Gk. *Poludeukĩs*.

IE. \**ou* > OL. *ou* CL. *ū* : OL. *loucom*. CL. *lūcus* ('sacred grove') : OHG *loh* 'clearing', Eng. *lea*, Lith. *laĩkas* ; L. *noutrix*, *nūtrix* 'foster-mother' < \**noutrĩ* (fm.) (< IE. \**sneu-*).

The long diphthongs in Latin are generally indistinguishable from the short diphthongs except in a final position, where they are shortened before consonants, and also before vowels *ai*, *oi* > *ā*, *o* respectively.

IE. \**ei* > *e*. L. *fēmina* : L. *res* : Skt. *rĩs* (< \**rē* (ĩ)s).

IE. \**āu* > *au*. L. *aurora* : Lith. *auszrà* (< IE. \**auso*) : Gk. Hom. *ēĩs*, Aeol. *aĩĩs*.

IE. \**ōu* > *ō*. L. *duo*. *octo* ; cf. *octāvos*.

## (iii) Vowels in non-initial syllables.

In open syllables short vowels become *i*.

IE. \**a* : L. *facio* ; *conficio* 'finish' ; *cado* 'to fall', *occido* 'to fall down'.

IE. \**e* : L. *sedeo* ; *obsideo* 'to remain anywhere' ; *lego collego* 'to collect'.

IE. \**o* : L. *novitas* (Gk. *nectas*.)

IE. \**i* : L. *video* ; *invideo* 'to envy'.

IE. \**u* : L. *caput* ; *capitis* 'the head' ; *manus* : *manios* 'long sleeve of tunic, manacle'.

Before palatal *l* (*l exilis*) the treatment of the short vowel is as above but before velar *l* (*l pinguis*) the short vowel appears as *u*. Thus :

*sedulo* 'busily' < *sedolo* : *familla* : *famulus* 'household'.

Before labials the vowel *i* was apparently pronounced *y* and so is written *i* or *u*. *optimum* : *optumum*.

In closed syllabus *e*, *i* and *u* remained unchanged but *a* became *e* and *o* becomes *u*.

IE. \**a* > *e* : *aptus* 'fastened to' : *ineptus* : *annus* : *biennis* ; *damno* : *cozndemno*.

Before guttural nasal such *e* became *i*. *tango* : *contingo* 'to touch'.

Before velar *l* this \**e* became *u*. *calco* 'to tread' : *inculco* 'to trample in, to impress upon'.

IE. \**o* > *u* : *alumnus* < \**alommos* : *secundus* < \**seqwondos*.

But after *u* *o* remained unaffected until the first century A.D.

## (iv) Diphthongs in non-initial syllables.

IE. \**ai* > OL. *ei* CL. *ī* : *aestimo* : 'to appraise' ; *existimo* 'to consider' ; *sequos* : *inīquos* ; *olīva* : 'the olive' ; Gk. *elaid*.

IE. \**au* > *ū* : *fraudo* 'to cheat' : OL. *defrūdo* 'to deceive' ; *claudio* 'to shut close' : *inclūdo* 'to enclose'.

IE. \**ei* < *ī* : *feido* : *confīdo* 'to trust'.

IE. \**ou* < *ū* : *douco* 'to draw' ; *adduco* 'to draw to oneself'.

IE. \**t* > *e* : *ante* : Gk. *anti* ; *pede* (abl.) : Gk. *podī*.

But in the primary endings (-*ti*, -*nti*) it is lost : *est*, *sunt*.

The following is the treatment of the final vowels in closed syllables.

IE. \**a* > *e* : *princeps* < \**-caps* ; *artifex* < \**-fax*.

IE. \**e* remains : *senax*, *nomen* (< \**nomn*).

Before *s* and *t* *e* became *i* in the third century B.C. :

OL. *dedet* > *dedit* ; *generis* (< \**geneses*) ; *aglt* < \**agetl*.

IE. \**i* remains : *ovls* ; *lapis* 'stone' \**lapids*.

But sometimes *i* becomes *e* : *iudex* 'judge' < \**youz-diks* ; *comes* 'companion' < \**comits*.

IE. \**u* remains : *manus*.

IE. \**o* > *u* (but remains *o* before -*s* and -*m* in OL. : *manios*, *Luciom*) : *istud* ; *de(i) um*.

(vi) Diphthongs in final syllables :

IE. \**-ai*, \**ei*, \**oi* > OL. -*ei* > C.L. -*i* : OL. *mihei* > *mihī* ; \**-ai* (dat. sg.) > -*ī*, \**oi* (loc. sg.) > -*ī*.

The long diphthongs either lose the second element or become short.

(vii) The long vowels in final syllables were generally retained but in CL. they were shortened before -*m*, -*t* and -*nt*, and in polysyllables also before -*r* and -*i*. Thus : *dūcās*, *dūces*, *dūcem*, *dūcer*, *dūcet*. In disyllabic words a long vowel preceded by a short one was prosodically shortened (the so-called Law of *Brevls Breviantes* or Iambic shortening). Thus : *equa*, *bona*, *ego*. There was extension as well as restriction of such shortening by analogy.

(viii) Treatment of semivowels and sonants.

IE. \**y* : preserved initially ; lost in intervocalic position ; vocalised after a consonant. Thus : *iugum* (\* < *yugom*) ! *iecur* (< \**yqʷr*) ; *tres* (< \**treyes*) ; *medius* (< \**medyes*) , *alius* (< \**alyos*) 'another, other', *venio* < \**gwm-ys*). (< *gʷm̥yō*).

IE. \**-dy-*, \**gy-* \**sy-* > -*iy* (< -*yy-*) : *maius* 'May' < IE. \**magyos*, OL. *quoios* < IE. \**qwo-syo-s*, *peius* < IE. \**pedyos*.

IE. \**w* : preserved initially before vowels as well as intervocally : *vidi*, *vivus*, *novem*, *ovis*.

Between similar vowels \*w is lost and followed by contraction: *sīs* > *sī-vīs*, *lātrina* > *lavātrina*.

IE. \*w is preserved after *k* and *s*: *equos*, *suāvis*.

Medial \*-tua->-tu-: *quattuor*.

It is lost after labial consonants (*p*, *f*): *fores* 'out of door', O Bul. *dvīri* (<IE. \*dhwer-/dhwor-).

It is assimilated with *d*, *gh* and *gwh*: *bonus* <OL. *duenos*; *bellum* <OL. *duellum*; *fundo* 'to found' <\*gwh-; *ferus* 'wild', Gk. *thḗr* <\*gwhēr-.

It is lost before *u*, and before *o* (but not initially): *somnus*, *parum* 'too little' <*pervom*, *soror* <\*swesor-.

IE. \*r > *or* (Gk. *ra*, *ar*, O. Bulg. *rδ*, Germ. *ur*); *corpus*; *cord-*, Gk. (Hom) *kradīē*, (Attic) *kardlā*; *cornu* Goth. *haurn*; *portus*, Av *pδsu*, *hu-pārθwa*-(Gk. *eúporos*); *posco* (<\*porsco), Skt. *prcchāmi*; *fors* 'chance, luck', Skt. *bhṛtīs*; *mors*, Skt. *mṛtis*; *sors* 'a lot' <\*sṛtis; *ortus* 'a rising' of the heavenly body', U. *ortom*, Skt. *ṛtas*.

IE. \*l > *ol* (>*ul*): *mollis* < \*mldwī-; *vultus*, *vultus* (<*wltos*), Goth. *wulthus*; *multa* < *mulcta* 'a fine in cattle', Skt. *mṛśta-* <IE. \*młgto-,

IE. \*r, \*l (> Skt. *īr*, *ūr*, Gk. Italic and Cellic, *ra*, *la*) > *rā* *lā*: *crates* 'a large bowl', Goth. *haúrds* 'door'; *granum* <IE. \*grno; *lāna* 'wool', Gk. *lenos*, Skt. *ūrṇa* < IE. \*wlnā (the final *m* was weakly pronounced; cf. OL. *oino*, *aide*, *duonoro*): *centum* < IE. \*kṛtom); *decem* <IE. \*dekṛi.

IE. \*n > *en*: *tentus*, Gk. *tatos* <IE. \*tntos; *nomen* <IE. \*nomn; *mens* (<\*mentis), Skt. *mat}s*, Goth. *ga-munsd* <IE. \*mṛti-.

Before *s* the nasal is lost and the vowel is lengthened: *regēs* < \*regens < IE. \*reg-ns.

IE. \*m̄. There is no instance of \*m̄ available in Latin.

IE. \*ñ < nā: L. (g)nātos, Paeli. *cnatois* (dat. pl.), Skt. *jatās* <IE. \*gñtos.

In some equations IE. \*ñ > *an*.

L. *antae*, Skt. *ātā* 'door frame' <IE. \*ñtā; L. *anat-* (*anas*, *anasis*), 'a duck' Skt. *āfis*, Lith. *antis*, Gk. *nessa*; <IE. \*nti-; L. *ianitricēs*, Skt. *yātā*, cf. Gk. *eīnateres* <IE. \*yñter-.

## (ix) Plosive consonants.

Latin like other Centum languages does not distinguish between the gutturals and the palatals.

The unvoiced and voiced non-aspirates, except the labio-velar, generally remain unchanged. Thus :

IE. \**p* : *pater, potis*.

IE. \**t* : *pater, potis, septem, tres*.

Exceptions : (i) Final *t* is lost after a consonant : *lac* (*lactis*) 'milk' < \**lact*.

(2) After a vowel final *t* was voiced in OL. but it reverted to *t* in CL : \**faket* > OL. *faced* > CL. *facit*.

(3) *-tl-* > *-kl-* : *poclom* 'goblet' < \**potlom*.

IE. \**k* : *centum, vicus*.

IE. \**q* : *cruor*, Gk. *krās* < IE. \**qrewðs*.

IE. \**b* : *trabs* (O. trībum), Lith. *trobà* 'house', Eng. *thorp* ; *de-bilis*, Skt. *balam*.

IE. \**d* : *domum* ; *edo*, Gk. *ēdō* ; *cord-is*.

Exceptions : (i) final *d* is lost after a long vowel and after a consonant ; abl. sg. ending *-o* < IE. \**-od* ; *sē* < \**sēd* 'without apart' (prepo.) ; *cor* 'heart' < \**cord*.

(2) \**dw-* > *b-* (CL) : *bonus, bellum*.

(3) Dialectally *d* and *l* are interchanged : *lingua* : *lin-gua* ; *dacruma* : *lacruma* ; *oleo* : *odor* 'to small'.

IE. \**g* : *ago, genus*.

IE. \**g* : *tēgo* 'to cover' Gk. *stēgos*, lith. *stōgas* 'roof' (cf. Skt. *sthagay-*) < IE. \**steg-*.

The unvoiced labio-velar plosive \**qw* remains unchanged with some exceptions. *quis* ; *sequor* 'to follow', Gk. *hēpomai*, Skt. *sācate* ; *linguo* 'to leave', Gk. *leipo*, Skt. *rinākti* IE. \**leiqw-*).

The labial element is lost before \**i*, \**u*, \**o*, \**l* and \**s* : *soctus* < \**soquios* ; *lacio* 'noose' (cf. *laqueus*) < IE. \**laqwyo* ; *secundus* < \**sequendos* ; *iecur* < \**yeqwor* < IE. \**yeqwert* ; *vōx* < \**wōqws* (cf. Gk. *ēpos*) ; *coctus* (cf. *coquo*) 'to cook' ; *ac* and *nee* (pre-consonantal forms of *atque* and *neque*).

IE. \**gw* > *v* (initially before a vowel and intervocalically) : *venio* ; *vīvus* ; *veru* (U. *berus* 'a spit, javelin', Goth. *gairu*, O. Ir. *bir* < IE. \**gweru*).



\**nog<sup>w</sup>-edos* > \**novedos* > *nūdus*, Goth. *nagaths*, Ir. *nocht*.

\**g<sup>w</sup>*, is retained after a nasal velar : *inguen* 'the groin', Gk. *aden* < \**ngwen* ; *unguan*, *unguo* (=U. *umtu*), Skt. *anakti*, O. Ir. *imb* 'butter' < IE. \**eqg<sup>w</sup>-n* /

The labial element is lost before *r*, *l* : *gravis*, Gk. *barūs*, Goth. *kaurus* 'heavy' \**g<sup>w</sup>reu-* ; *gratus* (O brateis 'gratiae'), Skt. *gurta's*, Lith. *girtas* < \**g<sup>w</sup>reu-*.

The IE. voiced plosives in the Italic branch first lost the voice and then they became aspirated, except after *s* when they became voiceless plosives. In Latin these sounds have been treated differently in different phonemic environment, as shown below.

IE. \**dh* > *f* (initially) > *b* (medially) : *feci*, *fūmus*, *feminā* ; *aedes*, Gk. *aithō*, Skt. *edhas* ; *medius* ; *fido*, Gk. *peitho* < IE. \**bheldh-*.

IE. \**bh* > *f* (initially) > *b* (through *te*, medially) : *fero*, *frater*, *fiōs*, (< IE. \**bhlōs*) ; *nebula*, Gk. *nephos*, *nephēle*, Germ. *nebel* ; *ambo*, Gk. *ampho*.

Under the following conditions IE. medial \**dh* appears as *b* in Latin.

(1) Before and after *r* (e.g. IE. \**ghladh-ro* 'clear, bright' > *glaber* 'smooth-skinned' (cf. Eng. *glad*, Lith. *glodūs* 'smooth') : IE. \**werdh-* > *verbum*, U. *verfale*, Eng. *word* ; IE. \**bhardha* > *barba* (cf. Eng. *beard*, O. Bul. *brada*).

(2) Before *l* (e.g. \**-dhlo-* > *-blo* (-*bulo*) : \**stǵ-dhlom* *stabilum* 'place of habitation' ; *fabula* 'talk' < IE. \**bhā-dhlā*.

(3) After *u* (e.g. *ūber*, Gk. *oũthar* Skt. *udhar* < IE. \**udh-* ; *ruber* ; *iubeo* 'set in motion', Gk. *us-mīne*, Skt. *yudh-*).

IE. \**gh* > \**x* > \**h* (initially before vowels and intervocalically) : (h)*anser*, Gk. *khēn.*, Skt. *haṃsas* ; *hiems*, Gk. *khomaros*, *khion*, Skt. *hemanta-*, *himas* ; *bimus* 'two years old' < \**bi himos* < IE. \**dwi-ghimos* ; *humus* 'earth', *homo*, Gk. *khamai*, Goth. *guma* < \**ghem* / \**ghom-*.

Exceptions : (1) Initially before *u* it becomes *f* (e.g. *ferus*, Gk. *thē'r*, O. Bul. *zvērī* < IE. \**gwhēr-* ; *fundo* to pour, pour out', Gk. *khēō*, *khū-to*, Goth. *giutan* < IE. \**gheu-*

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\*Being a weak phoneme it was sometimes best.

*ghu*). (2) Internally *\*ghu>-gu->-u* (influenced by the labio-velar?); (e.g. *brevis*, Gk. *brakhūs* <IE. *\*mregheai*-. (3) After *q* it becomes *g*; e.g. *tingo* 'to form' IE. *\*dhi-n-gh-* (cf. Gk. *teikhos*, Eng. *dike* <*\*dheigh*); *lingo* 'to lick', Gk. *leikho*, Eng. *lick* IE. *\*leigh-/\*li-n-gh*). *\*ghu>v* (internally): *levis* (< *\*legwis*), cf. Skt. *laghus*, Gk. *elakhqs* (<*\*lgnus*).

*\*gh* initially became *f*: *formus*, Gk. *thermos*; *de-fendo* 'to repel', Gk. *theinō*, *phonos*, Skt. *hanti*.

Medially it was treated in the following manner: (1) intervocalically *-v-* (e.g. *-nix*, *nivem*, Gk. *nīpha*, *nelphēi*, O. Bul. *snǣgū*; *voveo*, 'to vow, to promise to a god' (U. *vufetes*), Gk. *eukhomai* <IE. *\*wogwh-eyō*).

(2) After *y* it becomes *g*: e.g. *ninguit* 'it snows' <IE. *\*sni-y-gwh-*; *anguis* 'snake', Lith. *angīs*, cf. Gk. *ophis*, Skt. *ahis*.

(3) Before *r* it dialectally becomes *f* or *b*. See Stolz-Schmalz p. 133f, Palmer p. 209).

#### (x) Continuants and spirants.

IE. *\*m>m*: *mater*, *domus*, *nomen*.

Finally *m* was weakly pronounced, standing almost for a nasalization of the preceding vowel and therefore is sometimes dropped in OL; e.g. *oino*, *aide*.

IE. *\*n>n*: *novus*, *novem*, *genos*.

Before *s*, in the final syllable, it is dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened: *mensās* <*\*mensans*; *servōs* <*\*servons*. Medially, this treatment does not appear before the Vulgar Latin stage.

IE. *\*r>r*: *fero*, *ruber*.

The sonant *r* which resulted from syncope at the Italic stage from IE. *\*r*, becomes *er* in Latin: *\*tris>\*trs>ters>ter*; *\*agros>\*agrs>\*agers>agēr*; *\*agrolos>\*agrlos>\*agerlos>agellus* ('a little field').

IE. *āl<l*: *linquo* 'to leave', Gk. *leipō*, E. *leave* <IE. *\*leigw-*; *lego* 'to collect', Gk. *lēgo* <IE. *\*leg-*.

IE. \*s>s (initially and finally, and internally before and after unvoiced plosives and after *u*) : *septem*, *soror*, *genus*, *est*, *sisto*, *axis*, *mēnsis* ; intervocalically *s>z>r*<sup>1</sup> : *generis*, *arborem* (<*arbos-em*), *florem* (<\**flos-em*).

IE. \*s was voiced before *i*, *u*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *d*, *g* and after *r* and *l*. This *z* is lost and the preceding vowel is lengthened, except before *g* where it becomes *r*. Thus :

*aenus* 'made of copper brass or bronze' < \**ayes-nass* ; *prēlum* 'wine-press, olive-press' < \**pres-lom* ; *sīdit* < \**sizd-e-ti* ; *nīdus* ; *dīvido* < *dis+vid* ; *eveho* < *ex veho*.

IE. \*zg>rg : *mergus* 'a diver, a gull', Skt. *madgus* < IE. \**mezgus* ; *digero* 'to separate' < IE. \**diz-gezo*.

IE. \*sr>fr (initially), *br* (medially) : *frīgus* 'cold, coldness', cf. Gk. *rhīgos* < IE. \**srīgos* ; *fūnebris* 'relates to funeral' < IE. \**funes-ris* ; (*con*)*sobrinus* (< IE. -*swsar-inos*) 'cousin on the mothers side'.

#### (xi) Sandhi.

Latin shows consonantal sandhi internally between roots and suffixes and between prefixes and verbs, and here the assimilation is usually regressive. Thus : *ad-teneo*>*attineo* 'hold near, keep' ; \**sub-facio*>*sufficio* 'to put under, impregnate' ; *differo* 'to scatter' < *dis-fero* ; *quippe* 'certainly' < *quid-pe* ; *annos* (< IE. \**at-nos*, Goth. *athn*) ; *somnus* < IE. \**swepnos* ; *summus* < IE. *sup-mos* ; *actus* < IE. \**ag-tos* ; *sella* 'stool' < \**sed-la*.

There is external sandhi in periphrastic forms where two words combine into a single form. Thus : *bonast* < *bona est* ; *animadverto* 'to take notice of, to attend to' < *animum adverto*. Such external Sandhi is quite common in Oscan and Umbrian. Thus : Oscan *destrst* (= \**destrust*) 'dextra est' ; *teremnotust* 'terminata est' ; *pusslist* 'positum est' or 'post est'.

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<sup>1</sup> This change was completed by the middle of the fourth century B.C.

V. eitipse 'they decreed' (<\*eitom \*hipens).

### (xii) Svarabhakti

Conjuncts which come to be felt as difficult and could not be assimilated are split up by inserting an anaptyctic vowel. Thus : *dracuma* <*drac(h)ma* ; *mina* <*mna* (Gk. *mnâ*), *poculum* 'goblet' <*poclom*.

### (xiii) Ablaut

Ablaut in Latin is much obscured by the change of vowels, especially the internal ones. The following tables illustrate the main Ablaut patterns.

Normal	Strong	Weak
*ei : *oi	*ēi : *ōi	*y, *i
L. <i>deicerent</i> : <i>dico</i>	L. <i>dīxī</i> (*deiks-)	L. <i>dictus</i>
*ye *yo	*yē : yō	*y, *i
L. <i>maiestas</i> : L. <i>maius</i> (*meg-ies-) (meg-ios)	L. <i>maiusrem</i>	L. <i>magis</i>
*er : *or	*ēr : *ōr	*r, *r
L. <i>fero</i>	L. <i>fur</i> (<*for)	L. <i>fors</i> (<*bhrtīs).

The following Tables illustrate the complex pattern of ablaut in disyllabic roots of early IE, as manifest in Latin.

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Basic (NN) NR <sup>1</sup>	ZN, <sup>1</sup>	RR	ZR	ZZ
<i>*genē</i>	<i>*gend</i>	<i>*gnē</i>	<i>*gδnθ-</i>	<i>*gn</i> <i>*gn</i>
	L. <i>genitor</i>	Gk. <i>gnēsios</i>	<i>*gδn</i>	L. <i>gi-gn-o</i>
	L. <i>genetrix</i>	<i>*gn-</i>		L. <i>gent-em</i>
		L. <i>gnāscor</i>		
		L. <i>gnātus</i>		
<i>*gene/o</i>	L. <i>gnōsco</i>	L. <i>gnārus</i>	L. <i>cognitus</i>	
	L. <i>gnōtus</i>			

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<sup>1</sup> R stands for the reduced and Z for the zero (Weak) grade.

## LECTURES V

### History of Latin : Morphology (Noun and Pronoun)

#### (i) Noun declension.

Latin has preserved the three genders of IE. ; of the three numbers it has dropped the dual. But it has preserved a few historical dual forms but not always having the sense of that number ; e.g. the numerals : *duo*, *ambo*, *octō*, *vī-gintī*, and a few nouns that became either singular (e.g. *cornū*) or neuter plural (*frenī* 'reins, bridle', *rāstrī* 'a toothed hog'). Latin has dropped the instrumental case and has generally incorporated the locative in the ablative.<sup>1</sup> The vocative retains a form distinct from the nominative only in the singular of the *\*o-* and *ā-*stems. In the plural dative and ablative have the same form.

In Latin grammar there are five classes of declensional types for the noun. The first declension contains nouns ending in *-ā*. These are mostly feminine stems, but some are masculine or used as such. Thus : *mensā*, *equā*, *Romā*, *deā*, *filīā*—feminine ; *agricolā* 'farmer', *Hadriā* 'the Adriatic'—masculine.

The second declension includes the stems in *\*-o*. These stems are either masculine or neuter, but it includes, a few feminines also. Thus : *horto-* (*hortus*), *agro-* (*ager*), *puro-* (*puer*),

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1. The historical forms of the instrumental survived sporadically in Italic and sometimes in Old Latin. The ablative ending *-d* was attached to these forms and they became ablatives. 2. Also masc. 3. Borrowed from Gk. 4. Also other names of cities and islands.

*tauro*-(*taurus*), *socro*-(*socer*) 'father-in-law', *numero*-(*numerus*), *deuo*-(*deu*-), —masculine; *bello*-(*bellum*), *iugo*-(*iugum*), *pelago*-(*pelagum*) 'sea', *vīro*-(*vīrum*) 'venom', *vulgo*-(*vulgum*) 'the rabble'—neuter,<sup>2</sup> *fago*-(*fagus*) 'beech', *piro* (*pirus*) 'pear-tree', *diclectus*-,<sup>8</sup> *atomus*-,<sup>3</sup> *methodus*-, *paragraphus*-, *Corinthus*-,<sup>4</sup> *Samus*-, *alvus* 'belly', *humus* 'ground', *colus*-,<sup>2</sup> 'distaff'—feminine.

The third declension comprises stems ending in consonants, stems ending in *-i*, and monosyllabic stems ending in *-u*. All the genders are represented. Thus: *vōc* (\**wōq̥w*-), *rēg*, *anat*, *nepot*, *op* 'power', *niv* (\**snigwh*-), *nōmen* (nt.), *uber* (nt.) 'tent', *virgen* (fm.), *ped* (*pes*), *pater*, *ver* (nt.) 'spring', *soror* (fm.), 'sister', *uxer* (fm.) 'wife', *iscur* (nt.), 'liver' *femur* (nt.) 'thigh', *victor*-, *mas*- 'male', *vas* (nt.) 'vessel', *os* (nt.) 'bone', *flōs*, *glōs* 'sister-in-law', *corpus* (nt.), 'body', *mūs* (ms.) 'mouse', *ius* (nt.) 'right', *ōs*- (nt.) 'mouth', *bov* (*bos* < \**g̥wous*) 'ox', *cor* (nt.) 'heart', *lac* (nt.) 'milk', *genus* (nt.) 'kind', *canī* (*canis*), *iēvenis*, *avis*, *ignis*, *finis* (common), *volpi* (*volpeo*) (fm.), 'fox', *mari* (*mares*) (nt.) 'sea'; *su* (*sūs*),<sup>1</sup> *grus* (fm.) 'cane'.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth declension includes all stems in *-u* (except the monosyllabic); e.g. *domus*, *fructus*, *cornū* (nt.), *manus*, *genu* (nt.).

The fifth declension includes stems ending in *-e*; e.g. *diēs* (IE. \**dyēu*-), *rēs* (IE. \**rēi*), *fidēs* 'trust, confidence', *speciēs* 'sight, view', *faciēs* 'figure, external form'. The stems in the fifth declension are all feminine except *diēs* and *meridiēs* 'midday' which are masculine.

The IE. case-endings as were inherited by Latin are not always easily analysable. Some endings are lost through phonological change; some are obscured by assimilation or contraction and some are clear. Some case-endings

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1. Generally fm. 2. These are the only two *-u* stems in the third declension.

were adopted in Proto-Italic and the rest created later (including the Latin stage).

The history of the case-endings of the noun in Latin is given below.

#### A. Singular cases.

1. Nominative (masc. and fm.) : IE. (i) *-s*, (ii) Nil.

(a) The sigmatic ending was added to all the vowel stems (except the secondary *-ā*) and all consonantal stems (except some stems in *-n* and *-r*). Thus :

IE. *\*uōqʷ-s* > *vox* ; IE. *\*rēg-s* > *rēx* ; IE. *\*snigʷh-s* > *nix* ; IE. *\*nepot-s* > *nepōs*.

IE. *\*noqʷt-s* > *nox* ; \*IE. *\*op-s* > *ops* ; IE. *\*pəd-s* > *pēs* ; IE. *\*dent-s* > *dens* ; IE. *\*bherent-s* > *ferens* ; IE. *\*mūs-s* > *mūs* ; IE. *\*ekʷo-s* > *equo-s* > *equus* ; IE. *\*egni-s* > *ignis* ; IE. *\*bhṛti-s* > *\*forts* > *fors* ; IE. *\*mṛti-s* > *mens* ; *\*wl̥tu-s* > *vultus* 'countenance, look' ; IE. *\*wī-s* > *vīs*, 'strength, force' ; IE. *\*sū-s* > *sūs* ; IE. *\*r̥z(i)-s* > *rēs* ; IE. *gʷou-s* > *bos*.

(b) The asigmatic (or zero) ending appears in the secondary *-ā* stems and in *-n* and *-r* stems showing the lengthened ablaut grade. Thus : *via*, *cisterna*, *mola* 'mill-stone' (Gk. *mūlē*) ; *nova* (Gk. *néā*) ; *patēr*, *auctēr*, *homo*, *ratio* 'reckoning'.

2. Nominative-accusative-vocative neuter : (i) *-m* for the *\*-o* stem only ; (ii) zero for all other stems. Thus : OL. *dānom* > CL. *donum* ; OL. *novom* > (Gk. *néon*) ; OL. *opos* > CL. *opus* ; *caput* ; *uber* ; *nōmen* ; *ōs* ; *pecu*.

3. Vocative has no ending. In the *o*-declension it stems a different vowel in the same ablaut grade. Thus : *puere*, *amice* (nom. *amicus*), *\*filie* > *fīlī*. For the *ā*-stems there is only shortening of the final vowel ; e.g. *Tursa* (cf. Gk. *numphā*), *dea*, *filia*.

4. Accusative (masc. -fem.) : IE. *\*-m*, *\*-m̥* (after consonants). Thus : OL. *equom* > CL. *equum* ; *equam* ; *manum* ; *vīm* (< *\*vīm*) ; *socrum* ; *dīem* ; *rem* ; *vocem* (IE. < *\*wōqʷm̥*) ; *dent-em* ; *homin-em* ; *patr-em* ; *nāv-em*.



5. Genitive endings in IE : *\*-és*, *\*-ós*, *\*-s* (in ablaut gradation). The weak ending (*\*-s*) occurs sporadically in the first declension (*-ā* stem) in Old Latin : *familiās* (in *pater familiās* etc.), *viās*, *terrās*, *fortunās*. The regular ending of the genitive in the first declension in Latin is OL. *-āi* > CL. *-ae* ; e.g., OL. *Dvelonai* 'Ballonae'. The ending seems to have originated from analogy of the gen. of the second declension (*o*-stems). It is, however, likely that there was an influence of the dative as well. It is also the usual ending for the *u*-stem : *tribūs*, *senātūs*, as in IE. The ending *\*-os* appears only in a few scattered forms in Old Latin where it has generally become *-us*. Thus<sup>1</sup> *Diovo Diovos*, *Cereus*, *Venerus*, *Honorus*, *Caesarus*, *patrus*, *nationus*, *nominus*, *regus* ; *partus*<sup>2</sup>, *Salutus*<sup>3</sup> ; *magistra-tuos*<sup>3</sup>, *senatuos*<sup>3</sup>.

The ending *\*-es* > *-is* appears in the consonantal stems in the fifth declension. The unchanged ending appears only in three forms in Old Latin (inscriptional) : *Apollones Veneres*, *Salutes*<sup>4</sup> ; *patris*, *homin-is*, *anat-is* (nom. *anas*) ; *reg-is* (nom. *rex*), *infant-is* (nom. *infans*), *Cruc-is* (nom. *-crux*), *vocis*, *Veneris* (nom. *Venus*), *nepotis* (nom. *nepōs*), *noctis* (nom. *nox*).

The ending for the *-o* (*-yo*) stems is from the oldest period *-ī* (*-i*). That it did not result from the contraction of *-ei* (or *-oi*) is apparent from the preservation of the final diphthong *ei* in OL. (e.g., *virei* nom. pl.). The origin of this ending is unknown, but it has been suggested with plausibility that it was an adjectival affix which appears in Latin feminines, like *r̥g-i-na* and Skt. verbal compounds like *mithunī-karoti*.

\*Examples : OL.—*Latini urbani sacri*, *Aisclapi* ; *flagitiī* 'entreating' (*-yo* stem), *compendī* 'advantageous' (*-yo*-stem), *Vergili*.

1. From *Corpus Inscriptionem Latinarum* (by Stolz-Schmalz, p. 267.)

2. These two are *-i* stems. 3. These two are *u*-stems.

4. An *i*-stem.

In cl. Latin poetry the ending was analogically extended to *-li* (in *-yo*-stems, first adjectives then proper names and substantives), e.g. *patrii* (adj.), *fluvii* 'flowing water, river'.

6. Dative. The IE. ending was *\*-ai* (as in Gk. dat. inf. *do'menai*). In sandhi combination with the stem vowels *-o/e* it became *\*-di/-zi*. In Latin the inherited ending was *-ei* (< *-ēi*), but *-di* also appears sporadically in the inscriptions. Examples :

*-ei* > *-e<sup>1</sup>*, *-i* : OL—*Apolonei*, *Iovei*, *virtutei*, *Iunone Seispitei Matri*<sup>2</sup> : cf. O. *paterei Diúvei* (=Lat. *Iovī*), *Menarvdi* (fm.), *Fortunai* (fm.), *Matuta*<sup>3</sup> 'Goddess of the early morn'. CL.—*regī*, *deae* (fm).

*-di* > *-o* (in the second declension) : Praenestian—*Numasdi* (=Lat. *numerō*) ; Faliscan—*Zextōi* ; *populdi Romanōi*, *Herclo Iovio* ; *amicō*, *hartō*.

7. Ablative. The I.E. endings were the same as for the genitive. But the *-o* stems had a genitive endings *-(o)syo* (originally belonging to the demonstrative pronoun) which appears in Greek and Indo-Iranian. The ablative ending *-(o)d* appears in some languages like Indo-Iranian and Italic. It was added to the historical instrumental (ending in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*, *-ē* for stems in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*, *-ē*) in Proto-Italic.<sup>4</sup> In Old Latin *-d* was retained after long vowels but was dropped from the beginning of the second century B.C. Thus OL. *Benventod*, *Gnaivod*, *eod*, *quod* (cf. O. *sakaraklūd*) ; adverbially *meritod* (cf. O. *construd*) ; *modo cito* 'quick measure'. Adverbially—*facilumed*, *rected* (Faliscan ; O. *amprúfid*=CL. *improbe(d)* 'wrongly') ; *bene* 'well, rightly', *praidad* 'plunder, booty',

1. The *-e* dative generally occur in religious invocations and formulee.

2. All the three forms are used together. 3. For *Matutai*, sandhi loss of *i* (a vowel following).

4. To a greater extent in Avestan.

*sententiad* 'opinion, thought', *ead*, *extrod*, *suprad*<sup>1</sup>; *in agro Teurano*; *sved* 'so'; cf. O. *touted*, *ehtrad* 'outside, *loucarid* 'stipend salary' (cf. O. *slaagid* 'limit, end'), Paelign. *fertiid*; *virtutei* (= *virtuti*), Consonantal stems<sup>2</sup>: *airid*, *opid*, *bovid* (cf. O. *praesentid*); *Castud* 'pure, chaste, *magistrated*, *bodiæ* (faliscan *foied*). CL.—*mensae*, *horto*, *leonice*, *grue*, *fractū*.

In Latin the ablative was used for the instrumental and the locative.

8. Although syntactically absorbed by the ablative and morphologically assimilated to the dative and the ablative the I.E. locative survived sporadically in Latin. In I.E. locative endings were : (i) *-i*, (ii) *-zero*.

(i) The *-i* locative, after a long vowel, became *e* in Latin, and on account of this change some old locatives were confused with the ablative. Thus; *Romāi* O.L.) > *Romāe*, *Bansae* (OL) > 'Bantia', *proximae viciniae* (Plautus); *domi*<sup>3</sup> *miae*.

In the *o*- stem it was *-oi* or *-ei*; *-oi* does not occur in Latin except in such pronominal adverbs as *quo*, *huc* etc. The *-ei* loc. appears in OL. inscriptions as *-ei*, *-e* > *-i*. Thus : OL: *hei-ce* < CL *hīc* 'here' (cf. Faliscan *hei*), *sei-ce* > *sīc* 'in this manner', Dalei 'in (the island of) Delos', *diæ quartæ*, *die quintæ*; *diæ proximæ*, *postrī-diæ*; *domi*, *belli*.

The *-i* ending was extended analogically to the consonant stems quite early. Thus: *temperī*<sup>4</sup>, *lucī*; later—*Karthagin-i*, *Tibur-i*.

An instance of the endingless loc. may be *diū* (adv., 'by day') < \**dyēu*; cf. *noctū*.

1. Cf. Goth. *thathro* 'from there.'
2. And analogically after *-i* stems.
3. The same form in the dat.; (< *ei*) as in the loc. (*-o/e+i*).
4. After *vesperi* < *vespero*.

## B. Plural cases.

1. Nominative (masc. and fm.) I.E. ending *\*-es*. The usual Latin ending *-ēs* does not come direct from the I.E. ending but is secreted from the historical plural of the *-i* (*y*) stem : *\*owy-es > ovēs*. So *patr-ēs*, *ped-ēs* *honin-ēs*. In the *u*-stem the ending has become *-ūs* (<*\*-ow-es*) : *fructūs*.

In the fifth (diphthongal) declension the formation is regular : *\*rey-es > rēs* ; *dizs*, *spēs*<sup>1</sup>.

For the *o*-stems the I.E. ending of the demonstrative pronoun (*-oi*) was added to the noun in Latin (as in Greek). The original ending *\*-es* appears in Oscan, e.g. *Nuvlanūs*.

*\*-oi > -oe > -e > -ī (-i)* : OL *Adelphoe Clerumenoe*, *pilumnoe poploe, fescemnoe* ;<sup>1</sup> OL *ploirume, Falesce* ; CL *hortī*.

In the inscriptions of the first century A.D. and later *-s* appears in some forms as an added suffix to the plural in *-e* or *-i*, no doubt owing to the influence of the third declension.

The *\*-es* ending appear in Oscan and Umbrian in the *ā*-stems (O. *scritas*, U. *urtas*) but in Latin the ending is *\*-ai* (e.g. OL. *tablai, datai*). The few *-ās* forms in OL. (e.g. *metronas, guas*) are originally accusative.

## 2. Nominative-accusative neuter.

The nt. pl. of the I.E. *-o* stems ended in *-ā* which was originally a collective (feminine singular) noun. This is inherited by Latin *-ā > -a* (first iambic shortening, then generalised and extended) ; *triagintā, iuga* ; *loca, opera, tria, cornu* (<*\*cornua*).

## 3. Accusative (masculine-feminine).

I.E. endings : (i) *\*-ns* (vowel stems), (ii) *\*-ns* (consonantal stems), (iii) *\*-s* (*ā*-stems).

1. Also *faciēs, speciēs* from the time of Cicero.

2. Stolz-Schmalz, p. 275.

After vowels IE. *\*-ns* (i.e. *-ons*, *-ins*, *-uns*, *-ens*) became in Latin *-ds*, *-īs*, *-ūs*, *-ēs*<sup>1</sup> (O. *-ns*, *-ss* ; U. *-f*) ; *hortds*, *leonēs*, *patrēs*, *rēgēs*, *pādēs*, *vulpes*, (*vulpēs* ; cf. OL. *finis*, *tris*, *omnes*), *frutūs*, *dīs*, *nāvēs*.

*-ā* stems : *\*-ā-ns* > *-ās* : *vitulās* ; (cf. O. *vīass*, U. *vittaf*), *deās*, *mensās*.

#### 4. Genitive :

The IE. ending *\*-dm*, as inherited by Latin, occurs in the consonantal and *-i*-, *u*- stems (the third and the fourth declension and, sporodically in old as well as classical Latin, also in the first declension). *\*-dm* > *-om*<sup>2</sup> > *-um* : *iuvē-um*, *can-um*, *frātrum* ; CIL. *sovom* (<*suo*) : *Romano(m)* ; *deum*, *socium* ; *magistratu-um* > *magistratum* ; *trium*, *partium* (also *partum* Enn.).

The ending *-ium*, from the *i*-stem, is extended to some sporadic consonantal stems also ; e.g. *nāvium*, *mensium*, *adulescentum* (Plautus), *amantum* (ibid.).

For the *ā*- and *o*-stems the regular ending in Italic was *\*(-ā/o)-sum*, secreted from the demonstrative prenoun and extended also to the diphthongal stems (the fifth declension). Thus : *duonoro* (CPL.), *puerorum*, *deorum* ; *filiarum* ; *rērum*, *bovērūm* ; *boverum*.

#### 5. Dative-Ablative-Instrumental.

In IE. there was no dative pl. ending as such, but there is an agreement in the use of deictic particles or postpositions *\*bho*, *\*bhi* or *\*mo*, *\*mi*—with or without the further addition of *-m*, *-s* or *-o* (cf. Gk. *-phi(n)*), Ilr. *-bhis*, *-bhyas* *-bhyā(m)*. Germ. *-mis*, Balto-Slavic *-mus*). The Italic branch inherited IE. *\*-bhos* which appears as *-bos* ; e.g. Gallic *matrebo* ; Venetic *andeticobos* ; OL. *pro trebibus* (CIL) ; O. *lúisarfis*.

1. Extended to the consonantal stems in the third declension.
2. OL. *bovom* etc. Cf. O. *fratrūm*, U. *frātrom*.

Added to the *i*-stem this ending resulted in Latin *-i-bus* (e.g. *avibus*, *ovibus*, *tribus*) which was extended to all stems other than those ending in *-o* and *-ā* (the first and the second declension).<sup>1</sup> In the diphthongal stems (the fifth declension) the ending is *-bus*. Thus : *vocibus*, *regibus*, *pedibus*, *vulpi-bus*, *fructibus*, *bū-bus* (also *bō-bus*), *rēbus*, *diēbus*.

IE. *\*-iols* which appears in Indo-Iranian and Greek as the instrumental pl. ending for the *o*-stem had originally belonged to the demonstrative pronoun. This ending was adopted for the *o*- and *ā*-stems in the Italic branch : *\*-ois>-ois<sup>a</sup>, -oes>-eis>-es*, *-is* : O. *līgatúis Nūvlanúis* 'ligatis Nolanis' ; Praelign. *Iovios puclois* 'Ioviis pueris' ; U. Atiieries 'Atiediis' ; L. *ab oloes<sup>a</sup>*, *privicl(i)oes* 'single' ; *facteis* (CIL) ; *hortis* ; feminine—*soveis* (CIL), *nuges* 'trifle' ; *mensis*.

In Old and Classical Latin *-bus* is also added, beside *-is*, in some *ā*-stems ; e.g. *deābus*, *filiabus*, *Dominābus*.

## (ii) The pronominal declension.

Pronouns fall into two groups : (a) Personal pronouns and the Reflexive, which do not distinguish gender, and (b) Demonstrative, relative and possessive pronouns (including pronominal adjectives), which distinguish gender.

### (a) Personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun.

#### 1. First personal pronoun.

##### Singular.

Nom. I.E. (i) *\*egō>* Latin *egō*, *ego* (by iambic shortening) ; Venetic *exo*. IE. (ii) *\*eg(h)om* (Skt. *ahám*)>L. *egom-et* 'and

1. In the *u*-declension the old ending *-bus* also occurs in some forms ; e.g. *idubus* (CIL) 'the Ides' ; *sūbus* ; *subus*.

2. For the *ā*-stems : O. *Diumpais* 'Nymphis', 'deivinais', 'divinis' (fm.) ; O. *tekuries* 'a body of ten men' ; L. *decurii*.

3. Pronoun.

'I' > 'I myself'<sup>1</sup> Acc. IE. (i) \**me* (unaccented) attested in Gk. *me*. IE. (ii) \**mē(m)* ((Skt. *mā*, *mā'm*) > L. *mē-d*, *me-d* (OL, inscriptions). Dat. IE. (i) \**mei*, \**moi*<sup>2</sup> (Gk. *moi*, Skt. *me*). Latin developed a gen. form from \**mei* with the addition of -s (as ending) : *mīs* < \**mei-s*.

IE. (ii) \**meghei* (cf. Skt. *māhyam* < \**meghi-om*) > OL. *mihei* (U. *mehe*) > L. *mihi*.

Gen. Latin has not inherited directly from IE. ; *mīs* comes from \**mei-s*.

The regular form *meī* (*mēi*) is the formal gen. of the possessive *meus*.

Alb. IE. (i) \**mei* (unaccented) > Skt. *mād*.

IE. (ii) \**mē'd* > OL. *mād* > OL. *mē*.

Plural

Nom-Acc. (originally acc.) (i) IE. \**nos* (unaccented) > Skt. *nas*, Avestan. *nō*.

It occurs as the base of gen. pl. *noster*.

IE. (ii) \**nōs* > L. *nōs* (cf. Avestan *nā*, Skt. dual *nau*).

Nom. IE. \**wei* does not occur in any form.

Gen. IE. \**-dm* > L. *-um* (added to the possessive adjectival stem : *noster*) : *nostrum* (*nostrorum*, *nostrārum*), also *nostrī*<sup>3</sup> by the analogy of *meī* (sg.).

Dat.-Abl. Latin has a newly built form : OL. *nōbeis* > CL. *nobis*, from \**no(s)* + \**-bhei* (cf. second person sg. *tibei*, Skt. *tubhyam*, Avestan *taibya*) + \**-s*.

1. From this *egom-et med* was secreted as a particle and added to other forms of the first person (except *nostrum*) and all forms of the second person (except *vestrum*). The excepted forms are really derivatives. 2. Also gen. and loc.

2. Originally sg. It first appears in Terence. It is objective genitive as against *nōstrum*, partitive genitive.

## 2. Second personal pronoun.

## Singular.

Nom. IE. (i) \**tu* > Gk. *tū*.

IE. (ii) \**tu-om* > Skt. *tvam*, Old Persian *tuvaṃ*, Avestan *tūm*.

IE. (iii) \**tū* (\**tw-u*) > L. *tū* (Gk. *su*).

Acc. IE. (i) \**twē(m)* > Skt. *tvā*, *tvā'm*.

IE. (ii) \**tē* > OL. *tē-d* > CL. *te*.

Gen. IE. \**toi*, \**tei* > Pre-Latin \**tei-s* > OL. *tīs*. The regular form came from the possessive adjective: *tuī* (see *meī* above).

Dat. <sup>1</sup> IE. \**te-bhei* (cf. Skt. *tubhyam* < IE. \**tu-bhi-om*) > OL. *tibē*, *tibē* > CL. *tibī*.

Abl. IE. \**t(u)zd* (Skt. *tvād*) > OL. *tē-d* > CL. *te*.

## Plural

Nom. IE. \**yū-* (Goth. *jus*, Skt. *yūyam*, Avestan *yūzōm*)—not inherited elsewhere.

Nom. -Acc. (originally acc.) \**wos*, \**wōs* (cf. Skt. *vas*, *vām* (dual), Avestan *vāo*, *vā*) > L. *vos*.

Gen. As in the first person the gen. pl. of the second person in Latin came from the possessive adjective *vester*: *vestrī*, *vestrum*.<sup>2</sup> The other forms *vostrī*, *vostērūm*, *vostārum* came from *voster*.

Dat. -Abl. Latin has newly built forms: OL. *vōbels* (*vobels*) > *vōbīs*.<sup>3</sup>

1. See the corresponding forms of the first person.

2. *Vestrum* is used only as partitive genitive, like *nostrum*.

3. Cf. the corresponding first personal forms.



## 3. Reflexive pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. IE. (i) *\*s(w)e(i)* > Gk. *he*.

(ii) *\*swē(i)* : (i) Skt. *svā*-(in *svārājya*-.). (ii) Skt. *svāi*—in *svaira*-, Old Persian (x)*uvāi* in (x)*uvāpashiyam*,  
 (iii) IE. *\*swei-om* > Skt. *svayam*.

The nom. does not occur in Latin. The other forms follow the pattern of the personal pronouns.

Acc. IE. *\*s(w)ē(m)* > OL. *sē-d* (*se-d*) > CL *sē*.Gen. IE. *\*s(w)oi*, *\*swei* > L. *suī*.<sup>1</sup>

Dat. IE. *\*s(w)ebhei* > OL. *sibei* (O. *si'fei'*, Pacl. *sifei*) > L. *sibī* (*sibi*).

Abl. IE. *\*s(w)ēd* > OL. *sē-d* (*se-d*) > L. *sē*.

Plural.

Nom. does not occur.

Acc. the same as sg.

Gen. the same as sg. In early Latin there was the rare recurrence of *suom* (from possessive *suus*).

Dat. same as sg.

Abl. the same as sg.

## (b) Demonstrative pronouns.

1. IE. *\*so-*, *\*sā* : *\*to-* : *\*tā-* > Gk. *hó*, *hē*, *to-*, *tē-*. Skt. *sa-*, *sā-*, *ta-*, *tā-*.

Nom. Sg. masc. : IE. *\*so* > L. *ip-se*<sup>1</sup> < *\*i-p(e)-so*.

Nom-acc. nt. : IE. *\*tod* > OL. *topper* (< *\*tod-per*) 'speedily' ; *is-tud*.<sup>1</sup>

Acc. msc. IE. *\*tom* > L. *tum* (adv. of time).

Acc. fm. IE. *\*tām* > L. *tam* (adverb, correlative with the interrogative indefinite pronoun).

Abl. IE. *\*tōd* > L. *tōt* (indecl., 'so many'), *tālis* 'such'. Cf. Slolz-Schmatz p. 284.

1. Used in pl. also.

2. In classical Latin it became a full pronoun declined in all numbers genders and cases.

2. IE. *\*e/o*, *\*yi-* (and their combinations : *\*ei-*, *\*oi*, *\*eio-*, *\*eie-*, *\*yo-*, *\*ye-*) :

Nom. msc. fm. IE. *\*is* (Goth. *is*, O. *iz-ic*) > L. *\*is* as in *is-te*, *ipse* (<*\*is-pse*)<sup>1</sup>, *idem* (<*\*is-dem*).

Nom-acc. nt. (i) IE. *\*id* (Skt. *id* ; Goth *it-s* ; O. *i'd-i'k*)  
L. *id*. (ii) IE. *\*id-om*, *\*id-em* (Skt. *idam*) > L. *idem*.

Acc. msc. IE. *\*im*, *īm* (Skt. *īm* and *im-am*) > OL. *im*, *em* (also *em-em*). IE. *\*ey-om*<sup>2</sup> (Skt. *ay-am*) > L. *eum*.<sup>3</sup>

Acc. fm. *\*eyā-m* (cf. Skt. *ayā* instr. sg. fm.) > L. *eam*, cf. O. *ia(n)-k*.

3. IE. *\*ghe*, *\*gha*, *\*ghi* (Skt. *ha*, a particle, also *hi*) developed into a demonstrative pronoun in Latin (*ho* < *\*gho*) ; it however does not occur in Oscan and Umbrian.

### Singular

Nom. masc. (i) *\*ghi* > L. *\*hi-ce* (deictic particle) > *hīc*.  
(ii) *\*gho* > *\*ho-ce* > *hec* (once).

Nom-acc. nt. *\*ghod* > *\*hod (ce)* > *ho (diē)*, *hōce* > *hoc*.

Loc. *\*ghol*, *\*ghei* > OL *hei-ce* > *hīc* (cf. Faliscan *he fe*).

1. The Latin stem *ipso-* was generalized from the use of the inflected fem. forms of *i-*, *ea-* plus the particle *-pse*. The early occurrences are : *eapse* (nom. sg.), *eāpse* (abl.), *eampse* (acc.), *eaepse* (mon. pl.) ; then masc. forms like *eumpse*, *eopse*.

The use of *-pse* in other pronouns : *se-psa* (Enn.), *sum-psa* (Plaut.), *se-pse* (Cic.). According to Sommer (S-Sp. 286) *\*sim-som* (m), *\*sam-sām*, *\*sumpsom*, *\*sampsam* ; thence nom. like *sapsa* (f), then *ea-psa*.

2. Originally nom. (as in Skt.) ? 3. *\*eio-* is fully declined in Latin ; e.g. gen. sg. *ēius*, dat. sg. *eī*, abl. sg. *eo*, dat. pl. *ī-bus* etc.



## Plural

Nom. masc. \*ghoi, \*ghei > hī.

Nom. fm. \*ghāi > hae.

These are the only early occurrence.

4. The history of the Latin compound demonstrative *ollo-* and *illo-* are not very clear.<sup>1</sup>

Of *ollo-* the following forms occur in OL. : *ollus*, *olle* (nom. sg.) ; *olves*, *olleis* > *illeis* (abl. pl.) ; *olli* (dat. sg.) ; *olli* (nom. pl.) ; *ollis* (dat. -abl. pl.).

5. The interrogative-indefinite pronoun.

I.E. \*qwo-, \*qwā-, \*qwe-, \*qwi-.

## Singular

Nom. masc. fm. (i) \*qwis > L. *quis* (Av. *cīsh*).

(ii) \*qwo (+i, ī) > L. *quī* (used as relative pron. and adj.).

Fm. \*qwā, \*qwā (+i, ī) > L. *quā* (as in *si qua ali-qua*), *quae* (the regular form).

Nom.-acc. nt. (i) \*qwid > *quid*.

(ii) \*qwod > *quod*.

Acc. masc. fm. \*qwim > *quem* (cf. Av. *cīm*).

Fm. \*qwām > *quam* (O. *paam*).

Instr. IE. \*qwī > *quī*.

Dat. *quei* (an analogical formation) ; *quoiei* > CL. *quī*.

Abl. masc. \*qwōd > OL. *quōd* > CL. *quō*.

Fm. *quād* (analogical) > *quā*.

1. *Olo-* belongs properly to early Latin and *illo-* is its representative in cl. Latin. *Ille* occurs since the time of Plautus. The base of *olla-* seems to be *ol-* (as in the adverbs *ultra* 'on the other side of', *olim* 'formerly, in yore').

Ger. *quoius* (an analogical formation) > CL *cuius*.

Plural.

Nom. masc. (i) OL. *quēs*.

(ii) *quī* < IE. *\*qwā + i*.

Fm. *quae* < *\*qwā + i* ; *qua*.

Nom. acc. nt. (i) *quia* (used as a conjunction).

(ii) *quae* (< *\*quā + i*) ; *qua* (in *si quæ*

*ali-qua*).

Acc. masc. *quōs*, fm. *quās* (as in the noun).

Gen. masc.-fm. (i) OL. *quīum* < *\*quī- + ōm*.

Masc. (ii) *quorum* (as in the noun).

Fm. (iii) *quārum* (as in the noun).

Dat. abl. OL. *quis* ; CL. *quibus*.

The use of the neuter sg. (specially *\*qwe* and *\*qwīd*) as a post-position to a pronoun or a noun, to indicate indefiniteness, is of Indo-European origin. Such use is quite frequent in Italic as well as in Indo-Iranian. Thus : L. *quisquis* 'whoever', *quidquid* 'whatever' ; O. *pitpit* (cf. Hittite *kuish-kuish*, Av. *cišciš* Old Persian *cisciy*, Skt. *kiñcit*).

## LECTURES VI

### History of Latin : Morphology (Verb)

#### A. Finite verb.

The inflexion of the finite verb in Indo-European was a much more complex affair than of the substantive. There were three persons, three numbers, two voices (active and medio-passive), three tenses (present, aorist and perfect) and five moods (indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative and injunctive). There were two sets of endings for the two voices and for each voice four sets : 1) the primary and (2) the secondary for the present (including the imperfect), the aorist, the subjunctive and the optative ; (3) the perfect ; and (4) the imperative. The injunctive had some endings from the imperative and the rest from the secondary endings of the present-aorist.

The three persons are there in Latin, but not the three numbers. The dual is lost. Latin has two voices, the active and the passive, but the medio-passive in Latin is largely a remodelling and new formation with old material. The same phenomenon happens with all the tenses and moods except the present. The medio-passive in IE was not distinguished from the active, except that the active endings could not be used for the medio-passive. The middle endings, however, were used also in the active voice.

A finite verb form in IE could be dissected into two sections : the stem and the ending (e.g. Gk. *deiknu-mai*, Skt. *kṛṇu-te*). The stem again could be dissected into two elements—the root, and the stem affix (or affixes). The stem affix (or affixes) indicates the tense and the mood. If the mood has a special affix it comes after the tense-affix (e.g. Skt. subj. *bhavāt* = *bhav-a-a-t* < IE. \**bheu*-(root)+*e*>(tense affix)+*e/o* (mood affix) +*-t* (secondary ending indicating person and number).

## (a) Formation of the stems for the tenses.

(i) The present. In IE there were more than two dozens of affixes for making the present stem. Originally the stems indicated aspects of the action indicated roughly by the root. Some of the stem affixes had already been incorporated into the body of the root and thereby had formed fresh roots long before the break up of the common IE. set up. Thus from the primitive root *\*werð* meaning vaguely 'to cover, shut out' etc. came out the roots *\*wert-* (Skt. *vr̥t-*, L. *verto* 'to turn round, to make a circle'; *\*werg-* (Skt. *vr̥j-*) 'to twist, to fence off'; *\*werd* (Skt. *\*vr̥d-* as in *valivarda-*, *vardala-*) 'to water' (?); *\*werdh-* (Skt. *vr̥dh-*) 'to extend, to grow; etc.

The main stem-affixes for the present have survived longest in Sanskrit and next in Greek. In Latin there has been a considerable mix up. The IE. stem-affixes as modified in Latin are illustrated below.

1. Root in the strong grade; stem-affix *\*-e/o-*, (Skt. Class I): IE *\*bhér-e/o-ð* > Skt. *bhárā-mi*, Gk. *phérō*, L. *ferō*; IE *\*seqw-e-tai* > Skt. *sácate*, Gk. *hēpetai*, cf. L. *sequor*: IE *\*éus-o-ð* > Skt. *oṣā-mi*, Gk. *héuō*, OL. *\*ousō* > L. *ūro*.

2. Root in the weak grade: stem-affix *\*-ē/ō-* (Skt. Class VI): IE. *\*rud-o-ō* > Skt. *rudā-mi*; L. *rūdo* (<*rūdo*> *\*rēud-o-ō* > Skt. *rōdā-mi*).

3. Root in the strong grade; stem-affix *\*-ye/yo-* (included in Skt. Class I): IE *\*spék-yo-ð* > Skt. *pásyā-mi*, L. *specio*.

4. Root in the weak grade: stem-affix *\*-yē/-yō-* (Skt. passive conjugation): *\*gwm-yō-ð* > Skt. *gamyāte* (third per. mid.); Gk. *baino*, L. *venio*; cf. *\*m̥r-yō'-tai* > Skt. *mriyāte*, cf. L. *mor-iōr* (*\*m̥r-yōr*).

5. Stem-affix *\*-(ē)ye/(ē)yo* added to dissyllabic roots and to verbs and noun stems (Skt. Class X including causa-

tives and denominatives) : IE. \*ghrbhē'-ye-ti>Skt. gṛbhāyati ; L. *custōdiō*<noun-stem \*custōd 'keeper', L. *statuo*<*stato* (part. pt. of IE \*stā) ; L. *moneo*, cf. Skt. *māṇḍyāmi*.

6. Root in the weak grade ; stem-affix \*-skē/skō. (included in Sanskrit Class VI) : IE \*prk-skō-ō>Skt. *prcchā'-mi*, L. *pōsco* (<\*poresco).

7. Root reduplicated ; stem-affix \*ske/sko- (not found in Skt.) : IE \*did(e)k-sko-ō>Gk. *didāskō*, L. \**didcseō* (cf. *didici*)>*disco* 'I learn'.

8. Root reduplicated ; stem-affix \*-ē/ō- (included in Skt. Class I) : \*pib-ē/ō-ō>\*pibō>Skt. *pibā-mi*, L. *bibō* ; (third per-sg. IE. \*pip-e-ti>Skt. *pibati*, O Ir. *ibid*), Cf. Feliscan *pipafo* (fut) ; IE \*stist-e/o->Skt. *tiṣṭhati*, L. *sisto* ; IE \*sisd-e/o->Skt. *sīdāti*, L. *sīdo*.

In IE there were several classes where the stem is a nasal (with or without a vowel) which is either suffixed or infixed. At the end of the IE period some of such nasal stems took up thematic suffixes like \*-e/o-, \*ske/sko- or \*ye/yo. Latin has not preserved the original nasal classes of conjugation (except perhaps the first pers. sg. with the thematic ending) but it has preserved quite a number of the later thematised stems out of the old nasal classes.

9. Stem-suffix \*-néu-/nu- (Skt. Class V) : IE \*r-néu-mi, \*r-nu-tāi>Skt. *ṛṇo'mi*, *ṛṇuté*, Gk. *órnumai*. IE \*mi-néu-mi>Skt. *mino'mi* (cf. Gk. *ḡninuthō*), L. *minuo* 'cut up'. IE \*str-néu-mi>Gk. *stárnumai*, L. *sternuo* 'sputter, sneeze'.

10. Stem-suffix \*né-/n- (Skt. Class VII) : IE. \*bhi-né-d-mi>Skt. *bhinādmī*, L. *findo* 'split, separate'. IE. \*li-né-qw-mi>Skt. *rinācmi*, L. *linquo* 'leave'. IE. \*iu-né-g-mi>Skt. *yundāmi*, L. *jungo*. IE. \*ski-né-d-mi>Skt. *chinādmī*, L. *scindo*.

11. Stem-suffix \*-nē'/-n- (Skt. Class IX) : \*str-nē'-mi>Skt.

*stīrñāmi*. L. *sternō* 'stretch out'. IE. *\*li-nē-mi* > Skt. *lināmi*, Gk. *li'namai* (middle), L. *lino* 'smear upon'.

Examples of nasal verbal stems suffixed by thematic stems : L. *vincio* 'bind' > *\*w-n-k-yo-* (IE. root *\*wyek-*). L. *frūniscar* < IE. *\*bhru-ne-ghsko* -cf. *fructus* 'to enjoy'.

12. Root reduplicated<sup>1</sup>; no stem-affix (Skt. Class III) : IE. *\*di-dō-mi* Gk. *didōni*, Skt. *dādāmi* ; L. *reddo* 'to restore' (< *\*re-dido*).

13. Root showing ablaut variation : no stem-affix (Skt. Class II) : IE. *\*és-ti* (sg.) > Skt. *ásti* Gk. *ésti*, L. *est* : IE. *\*s-enti* (pl.) > Skt. *sānti*, Gk. *énti*, L. *sunt*.

The classes of conjugation of the present stem in IE. are divided into two groups : thematic and the athematic. The distinguishing points are two :

1. The primary endings of the first person singular were not the same. In the thematic classes the endings are *\*-ō* (active), *\*-ai* (middle) ; in the athematic classes the corresponding endings are *\*-mi* and *\*-mai*. This distinction is kept up by Greek. In Skt. the ending *\*-mai* has been lost and the athematic ending *\*-mi* has been superimposed on the thematic ending *\*-ō*. In Latin the athematic endings have been lost except in some survivals like *sum* < OL. *\*somi* < IE. *\*es-mi*.

2. In the thematic classes the position of the accent was fixed either on the radical vowel or on the stem-vowel. In the other classes the accent shifted its position, from the root to the stem-affix or to the ending. Thus : in Sanskrit (i) *bhāvati* : *bhāvanti* and (ii) *ásti* : *s-ānti*.

(b) The primary (sending active).

First person sg. (i) *\*-o* : IE. *\*bhérō* > Skt. *bharā(mi)*, Gk. *phérō*, L. *fero*, Goth. *baira*, OIr. *-biur*.

1. Latin has generally lost the reduplication.



(ii) *\*-mi* : IE. *\*ésmi* > Skt. *āsmi*, Gk. *eīmi*, L. *sum* (<*\*somi*),<sup>1</sup>  
O. *súm*.

Second person sg. *\*-si\** : IE. *\*es-si* < *\*ési* > Skt. *āsi*, Gk. *essi* (Hom. and Syracusan), Lith. *elsi*, L. *ess*<sup>3</sup>, *es*.<sup>4</sup>

Third person sg. IE. *\*-ti* : IE. *\*es-ti* > Skt. *āsti*, Gk. *esti*, L. *est*, O-U. *est*, Goth. *ist*, O Ir. *is*, Lith. *esti*, O Bul. *jesti* ; IE. *\*bhéreti* > Skt. *bhárati*. L. *fert* > IE. *\*bhérti*.

First person pl. IE. *\*-mes/ \*-mos* : IE. *\*bhér-e/o-mes/mos* > Skt. *bhārāmas* (<*\*bhāramas*), Gk. *phéromes*. (Doric), L. *ferimus*.

Second person pl. L. *-tis* comes from IE. *\*-tes* (the dual ending of the imperative) or from *\*-t(h)es* (the dual ending of the present as in Skt. *bharathaḥ*. Thus IE. *\*legetes* > L. *legitis*.

Third person pl. *\*(e)nti* ; IE. *\*s-énti* > Skt. *sānti*, Gk. *ēnti*, L. *sunt*, V. *sent*, O, *set*, OIr. *sit* ; IE. *\*bhéronti*. > L. *ferunt*, Gk. (Doric) *phéronti*, O Ir. *berit*, Goth. *bairand*, Arm. *beren*, OSL. *berati*.

(c) The secondary endings (active).

First person sg. *\*-m'* : IE. *\*(e)bherom* > Skt. *ābharam*, Av. *baram*, Gk. *épheron* ; L. *feram* (opt.) ; cf. O Bul. *nesū* (<*\*nesom*) 'I carried', also *bera* (prest. ind.).

Second person sg. *\*-s'* : IE. *\*(e)bhéres* > Skt. *ābharas*, Gk. *épheres*, O Ir. *do-bir*. L. *feris* ; cf. O Bul. *veze*.

1. The only example in L.
2. The loss of final *i* in Latin has helped to confuse the primary ending with the secondary.
3. Plaut.
4. Long syllable (*es*).
5. It almost completely replaced the primary endings in Italic.

Third person sg. *\*-t* : IE. *\*bhwet* > L. *fued* > *fuit* ; IE. *\*dheket* > OL. *feced* > CL. *fecit* ; IE. *\*syǵ't* (opt.) > Skt. *syāt*, OL. *sied* > *siet*.

First person pl. ending *\*-me* does not occur in Latin. The primary ending is used instead.

Second person pl. ending *\*-te* does not occur in Latin in the indicative mood. The primary ending is used instead.

Third person pl. *\*-(e)nt*. IE. *\*(e)bhéro-nt* > Skt. *ābharan*, Av. *baran*, Gk. *ēpheron*. Latin has *-unt* for both primary and secondary, and the origin of this ending is either primary *\*-(e)nti* or secondary *\*-(e)nt* or both.

(2) The Aorist. In IE. the aorist agreed with the imperfect (that is, the present with the secondary endings) in having the secondary endings and in having optionally the temporal adverb *\*e* (Gk. *e-*, Skt. *a-*) as a prefix. But the two "tenses" differed in the stem. The imperfect had the stems of the present tense whereas the aorist had its own stem-affixes.<sup>1</sup>

There were three main types of the aorist stem in IE: (1) the root aorist (that is, the stem-affix was *nil*), (2) the thematic aorist (that is, the stem affix was *\*-e/o-*) and (3) the sigmatic

1. In primitive IE the present and the aorist formed one "tense" system. Later on the forms with secondary endings which lacked the corresponding forms with primary ending made the separate aorist tense. The meaning of the two tenses were always distinct. The IE. tenses had no time implication ; this was conveyed by the context or by the prefixation of the adverb *\*-e*. The present "tense" indicated durative or momentary action and the aorist expressed action "unlimited" (i.e. no implication of either continuity or completeness). The perfect tense indicated action viewed as completed.

aoiist (that is, the stem -affix was \*-s- with or without a vowel preceding, following or both). Thus : (i) Gk. *ephū*, Skt. *abhut*. Gk. *ethēka*, L. *fēcl*. (ii) IE. *\*(e)drk̑m* > Skt. *ādr̥śam*, Gk. *ēdrakon*. (iii) IE. *\*(e)deik̑m* > Skt. *ādik̥ṣam* (for *\*adaik̥ṣam*), Gk. *ēdeiksa* ; cf. L. *dīxi*.

Latin has no aorist tense. The few historical forms of the inherited aorist were incorporated into the perfect tense.

### (3) The Imperfect.

Latin has an imperfect tense which is not a continuation of the IE. imperfect but is a new creation partly during the Italic and partly before the Italic period. Except in one or two forms like *eram* the Latin imperfect is a periphrastic formation. Even *erām* is a comparatively new formation showing the stem -affix -ā- which appears also in Celtic and Lithuanian.

The typical Latin imperfect like *amabam* consists of two elements *ama*+*bam*. The first is a present participle (nom sg.) or a verbal noun (locative) or infinitive, and the second element inflected imperfect-aorist of IE. *\*bhew̑-*. Thus *amabam*=*amāns* (pres. part. = 'loving'), *ama* (loc., = 'in love') or *\*amasi* (inf., = 'to love')+*bam* (>IE. *\*bhew̑-ā-m*)<sup>1</sup> ; cf. O. *fu-fans* 'they were'. A parallel formation is the future in Latin.

(4) The Perfect. The perfect in IE. was characterized by a special set of personal endings and by reduplication (with the vowel -e- in the reduplicated syllable and \*-o- in the radical part). But reduplication was not an invariable feature of

1. An -ā- formation like *erām* (*eram*) ; cf. L. *fuam* (subj.).

the perfect in primitive IE. Thus : IE. *\*woida* > Skt. *veda*, Gk. *oida*. L. *vidī*. Latin inherited both the reduplicated and the unreduplicated types of the IE. perfect. - The Latin perfect has usurped the function of the IE. aorist and also one type of the aorist stem i.e. the sigmatic aorist ; e.g. OL. *deixei* > CL. *dixī* (Cf. Gk. *édeiksa*, Skt. *ádikṣam*).

The following are the endings of the perfect in Latin :

First person sg. IE. *\*-a* (active), *\*-ai* (middle) : Latin inherited the middle ending. Thus : IE. *\*ded-ai* > OL. *\*dedei*<sup>1</sup> > CL. *dedī*, Skt. *dadé*. L. *tutudī*, Skt. *tutude*. IE. *\*woida* > L. *vidī*, O Bul. *vidē*. Cf. OL. *fecēi* > *fecī*, etc.

Second person sg. IE. *\*-(h)a* (active), as in Gk. *oistha*, Skt. *vētttha*, is lost in Latin where the ending is OL *-stei* > L. *-stī*. The origin of this ending is unclear. It is probable that the elements *-s* and *-t* come from the present and *ei* from the first person of the perfect. Thus OL. *gesistei* (CHL), *dedisti*, *vidisti*.

Third person sg. IE. *\*-e* (active), *\*-ai* (middle). The ending in Latin is *\*-et*, *\*-elt* > *-it* (*it*). The ending is a compound one, consisting of the perfect middle ending (*\*-ai*) strengthened by the secondary active ending (*\*-t*). Thus : *vidīt*, *fēcīt*, *dedīt* (*dedīt*<sup>2</sup>) ; cf. O. *deded*.

First person pl. In Latin the same ending is used as for the present (*\*-mos* > *-mus*).

Second person pl. In Latin the same ending is used as for the present (*\*-tes* > *-tis*).

Third person pl. IE. *\*-r* (active) ; *\*-rai* (middle) ; (Cf. Skt. *dadur*, *dadire*). The Latin ending is *-erunt* < *-is* + *ont* (the

1. *ei* < unaccented *ai*.

2. By iambic shortening.

secondary active ending). There is also *-ere>-eri* which can be compared with Skt. *-ire* (<IE. *\*-rr-oi*) : *dederi* (CIL). The isolated form *dedro* (CIL ; 177) may be noted here.

The formation of the perfect stem in Latin is shown below.

1. The root reduplicated: *tetuli* (Plaut.) 'I bore' ; (cf. Gk. *tétlamen*) ; *dedī* ; *\*tetoudai>L. tutudī*.

The reduplication was generally lost in classical Latin.

OL. *tetuli>tuli* ; OL. *de-totondi>de-tondi* 'I clipped'.

2. The root unreduplicated in IE. : *vidī*. (But L. *ēdi*, Skt. *āda* <IE. *\*e-ed*).

3. The *s*-Aorist (root reduplicated or not) :

(a) Root reduplicated : OL *deix-ei* (cf. Gk. *édeiksa*) *>dīxi* (IE. *\*dedk-s* <the root *\*deik*) ; cf. U, *dersicust*.

(1) Root unreduplicated : O. *dicust* (root *\*deik-*) ; L. *rexī* ; IE. *\*yeudh->OL. joussei* 'I commanded', CL. *jusi*.

4. With verbs ending in *-ā* and with some verbs ending in other vowels or in consonants the perfect stem is formed by the addition of the affix *-v-* (*-u-*) ; e.g. *amavi* etc. (first conjugation) ; *crepavi*, *crepui* ('creaked') etc. (second conj.) ; *strāvi*, *crēvi* 'I grew' etc. (third conj.) ; *audīvi* etc. (fourth conj.). The *-v-* (*-u-*) element is probably the same as in Skt. *dadāu*, *papāu* (CL. *plēvi*). The Oscan perfect in *-f-* (*-ff-*) can be compared with the Latin *-v-* perfect ; e.g. O. *pruf-fed* 'probabit'.

(5) The future. There was no future tense as such in IE. The sense of the future expressed by any of the moods, subjunctive or optative, or by the present. The future tense in Skt. developed out of the *\*-syo-* present. Latin developed out

of the subjunctive two forms the *-ā-* form (*regām, regās, regāt*) and the *-ē-* form (*regō<sup>1</sup>, regēs, regēt*). The *-ā-* set functioned as the subjunctive and the *-ē-* set as the future. The short vowel subjunctive (future) is to be found in historical forms like *ero*, etc.

A new, periphrastic, future was evolved to obviate difficulties where the two sets of the old subjunctive tended to converge phonetically. This future was modelled after the imperfect. Thus *amābō* < *āmā* (verbal noun or stem) + *bō* (< IE. *\*bhw-ō*) ; *monēbis* < *mone* (< *\*monei*) + *bis* (< *\*bhw-e-s*).

#### (6) Other new tenses in Latin.

The pluperfect is partly analogically created by extending the perfect (in *-v-*) or the future (short vowel subjunctive) with the endings of the *-ā-* subjunctive. Thus : *amāveram, amāverās, amāverāt, emeram, emerās, emerāt*.

The future perfect is the same formation but with some differences in the ending. Thus : *amāverō, amāveris, amāverit ; emerō, emeris, emerit*.

#### (7) The Imperative mood.

In IE. imperative mood could be formed from present aorist and perfect stems. In Latin there is only one instance of the imperative from a perfect stem (viz. *mementō* < IE. *\*memn-tōd* ; cf. Gk. *memátō*). All the forms of the imperative in Latin are based on the present stem.

1, This form being identical with the present was replaced by *ragam* from the *-ē-* set. *ero, eris, erit* originated from short vowel subjunctive : *\*esō, \*eses, \*eset*.

The endings of the imperative in IE. and Latin are as follows :

Second person sg. IE (i) no ending ; bare stem. So in Latin. Athematic stem : IE. \**i* > L. *ī* ; IE. \**dō* > L. *cedo* 'give here' ; IE. \**es* > L. *es* ; \**bhū* > L. *fu*.

Thematic stem : IE. \**weghe* > Skt. *vāha*, L. *vehe* ; IE. \**lege* > Gk. *lēge*, L. *lege*.

In some forms the final vowel has been lost in Latin ; e.g. IE. \**deike* > OL. *dice* > *dic* ; similarly *duc*, *fac*, *misc*, etc.

(ii) IE. \**-dhi* (attached to athematic stems) : IE. \**esdhi* > Gk. *īsthi*, Skt. *edhi* ; IE. \**idhi* > Gk. *īthi*, Skt. *ihī*. It does not occur in the Italic branch.

Second person pl. IE. ending \**-te* really belonged to the injunctive. Thus : IE. \*(*e*)*ste* > Skt. *stā*, Gk. *estē*, L. *este* ; IE. \**ite* > Skt. *ita*, Gk. *īte*, L. *ite*, Gk. *didotē*, L. *date*.

In IE. the pronominal particle \**tōd* was optionally used with the imperative forms irrespective of number and person, as in Skt. (e.g. *jayatāt* for *jaya*, *jayata*, *jayatu* etc.) so also in the Italic language, Thus : OL. *statod*, *datod*, (second and third per. sg.) ; *estod*, O *estud*, Gk. *estō* ; *mementō*. New formations : *agitote* > *agetōd-te* (second pl. with the pl. ending *-te-*) ; *agitō* (> \**agetod* ; second per. sg.) ; *suntod* (< IE. \*(*e*)*sontu* or +\*(*e*)*sont*+*tōd* ; third per pl.)

#### (8) The Passive Voice.

The forms with the middle endings carried also the sense of the passive in IE. The passive indicated an action by itself or an action viewed without an agent. In some IE. languages, notably in Celtic and Italic, there is a formant *-r* making the impersonal passive. Thus : O. *ferar* 'there must be a carrying, one should carry', L. *merear* 'one should obtain'.

Latin developed the following endings for the passive (and deponent) conjugation in the present tense indicative mood.

First person sg. IE.  $*-ē$  (primary act. ending) +  $r > OL. -ōr > CL -or$  ;

First person sg. IE.  $ǵ-e$  (primary act. ending  $r > OL. -ōr > hortor, loquor, sequor, amor$ ).

Second person sg. IE.  $*(-e).so$  (secondary middle ending)<sup>1</sup>  $>-ere$  : L. *sequere*, Gk. *ἑπο* < IE.  $*sequeso$ .

In forms other than the imperative  $-s$  is generally added to  $-ere$ , after the analogy of the corresponding active forms : e.g., L. *sequeris* <  $*sequere-s$  ; *hortāre, hortāris* ; *loquere, loqueris* ; *amāris*.

Third person sg. (i) IE.  $*-to$  (secondary middle ending) +  $r >-tur$  : *sequitur, hortātur, amātur*.

(ii) IE.  $*-tai$  (primary middle ending) +  $r >-ter$  : O. *sakarater* = L. *sacrat* ; U. *herter* 'it is proper'.

First person pl. IE.  $*-mo$  (secondary active ending) +  $r >-mur$  : *sequimur, amāmur*.

Second person pl. Latin ending  $-mini$ <sup>2</sup> is explained variously :

(1) as coming from IE. present participle middle suffix  $*-meno-$  (weak grade  $*-mno-$ ) ; (2) as coming from the dative infinitive of *men*-stems ( $*-menai$ ). Examples : *legimine* (cf. Gk. *legómenai*) ; *amānini*.

Third person pl. (i) IE.  $*(-e)nto-$  (secondary middle ending) +  $r >-ntur$  : *amāntur, sequuntur*.

— 1. Not found in Skt., but in Avestan, Greek, Gothic etc. : e.g. Av. *baranhu*, Gk. *phēres* < IE.  $*bhereso$ .

2. Also used as imperative.



(ii) IE. *\*(e)ntai* (primary middle ending)+*r*>U. *emantur*=L. *emantur* 'they were flowing out'; Marruc, *ferenter*=L. *feruntur*.

Other tense and mood formations show the analogy of the corresponding active forms. Thus : *amabitur* (fut. third pers. sg.) fn, *āmabātur* (imp. third pers. sg.), *āmatus* (sub. third pers. sg.).

## B. The Non-finite verb.

The non-finite verbs in the IE. languages are originally substantives and they, if declinable, are declined as adjectives, and if indeclinable, are fossilized forms of some oblique cases in singular. Except the active present and perfect participles the non-finite verb has no connection with the tenses. They partake of the nature of the verb only when they govern cases.

### (i) The Present Participle.<sup>1</sup>

IE. *\*(e)nt*, *-(o)nt* added to the present-aorist stem :

IE. *\*(e)s-ént*, >Skt. *sánt*-, L. *prae-sens*, *sons*.

IE. *\*yent*->Skt. *yánt*, L. *ab-iens* (nom. sg.), *euntis* (gen. sg.), *eunti* (dat. cf. sg.). IE. *\*(e)dent*->Skt. *dánt* 'tooth', L. *dens* (nom. sg.), *dentis* (gen. sg.).

(ii) The Perfect Participle. The active perf. part. has not survived in Latin. The passive perf. part. suffix in IE. was *\*-to*. Thus : IE. *\*gʷnto'*->Skt. *gatá*-, Gk. *bato's*, L. *ventus* (nom. sg.) ; *\*stəot'*->Skt. *sthítá*-, Gk. *stato's*, L. *status* ; IE. *\*sedto'*->L. *sessus* (Skt. *samna*-<*\*sednə*-).

(iii) The future participle active is a new formation in Latin. It is an adjective with the suffix *-turo* (possibly connected with Skt. heteroclitic suffix *-var* ; *-van*) ; L. *amanturus* ; OL. *futūros*>CL. *futurus*.

1. Many of the historical prest. part. have become substantives in Latin (and other languages).

## (iii) The infinitive.

The infinitive in Latin is a case form, dative or locative, of a verbal noun as in Sanskrit and Greek. Thus :

Root noun : L. *agi* (cf. Skt. *-dže*)

S-stem : OL. *dasei* > *dari* (cf. Skt. *jiṣṭ*) ; *agere* > \**agesi* ; *amare* :  
esse (> \**essi*).

The passive infinitive in Latin ends in *-i* < OL. *-ei* (dat. of a root noun or the loc. of a thematic noun) : *agri* > \**agel* > IE. \**ag-* or \**ago-* ; OL. *amarei* > CL. *amārī*.

## (iv) The supine.

The supine is either the assuative or the dative of a verbal noun in *-tu-*. Acc. L. *con-ditum* ; cf. Skt. *dātum*, O Bul. *dētū*, Lith. *detu*. L. *essum* > IE. \**edtum*. Cf. U. *aseriato* = L. *observatum*.

Dat. OL. *memoratūi* (Plaut.) > CL. *memorātū*.

The ending *-tūi* appears to be connected with Skt. *-tave*, *-tavai* (dat. inf. from verbal nouns in *-tu*).